7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

supplies.[28] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[29]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the ensign could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the ensign's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the Indian warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[30]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the ensign for a number of years. While the ensign's leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes continued with accusations of plunder and theft.[31] The ensign, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[32] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[33] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Oñaverría, the ensign claimed supremacy over all of the aborigines from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far north as Osorno. The ensign was so feared and supported, he said, that Indians in the extreme north would break the peace when the chiefs of the ensign so desired.[34] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective supremacy, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

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28 Idem, pp. 105, 123.

29 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de los usos de Chile" (CHC, vol. 3, p. 391).

30 Oñaverría, p. 21.

31 Menendez, pp. 128-127.

32 Idem, p. 61. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were rarely raised by the depredations of the ensign's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1603 (Gay, II, pp. 370, 379); "Informe de Juan de Herrera y Acevedo" (Idem, pp. 393-395); Pedro, p. 402. Through use of terror the ensign sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through redistribution the Spanish sometimes relieved the stress and disbanding of Indian armies and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, Cautiverio feliz (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 51-52).

33 Menendez, pp. 129-131.

34 Oñaverría, p. 21.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olaverría, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 73-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígines de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings."

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark;" she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher.

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Aleple schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 577

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to *say* complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making muday with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With increased pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he plants our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolopun, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolopun called the rainbow wiñoln; other Argentine informants called it leuvu or reuvu; in Chile leuvu leuvu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an ulla is called challe; in Argentina, sipiel. An ox in Argentina is a tóki; in Chile, a lochel. A pig is fulfeve in Chile; loufue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallo or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

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INTRODUCTION

After 1883 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869-70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained on Chile, although resolve under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

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Mapuche

credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

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Mapuche

from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways – meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepam* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *chal* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb within at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet infrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will

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Mapuche

The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, interact in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1883.[1]

A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche wandered in for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[1] It might be argued that 1880 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche waged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and exercised a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There *is* an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, filletun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

• 186 182 nits of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the threats of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolisms. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 771 779 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolve around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antipaitamalo*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. [195] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 825 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antipaitamalo eetuán*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become bluefins?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of [778] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 771 825 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

cf. Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expressions might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself, one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (ad-mapu), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept winka, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of this world are Mapuche; all colonizers winka. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapuchedom itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (picun: north), to the south, Huilliche (huilli: south), to the east, Puelche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (lafken: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographic-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the preconquest Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

Ñ. Farm. E-4, 1 (1955-1956) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general socialization of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All practical age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.